



Organizing Communities

Reflections on Addressing Authority-Based Violence in Monrovia, Manila and Johannesburg

Warburg, Anna Bræmer; Kaloy Anasarias, Nomfundo Mogapi, Seidu Swaray, Steffen Jensen

Publication date:
2018

Document version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Citation for published version (APA):
Warburg, A. B., & Kaloy Anasarias, Nomfundo Mogapi, Seidu Swaray, Steffen Jensen (2018). *Organizing Communities: Reflections on Addressing Authority-Based Violence in Monrovia, Manila and Johannesburg*. DIGNITY – Danish Institute Against Torture. Praxis Paper Vol. 2017 No. 13

DIGNITY Publication Series on
Torture and Organised Violence
Praxis Paper

#13

ORGANIZING COMMUNITIES:

Reflections on Addressing Authority-Based Violence in Monrovia, Manila and Johannesburg

Anna Warburg
Kaloy Anasarias
Nomfundo Mogapi
Seidu Swaray
Steffen Jensen

*ORGANIZING COMMUNITIES:
Reflections on Addressing Authority-Based Violence in Monrovia, Manila and Johannesburg*

A praxis paper prepared in collaboration between Balay, CSVr, LAPS and DIGNITY for the Global Alliance

DIGNITY Publication Series on Torture and Organised Violence No. 13

© 2017 DIGNITY - Danish Institute Against Torture, the authors and the Global Alliance organizations

Balay Rehabilitation Center

www.balayph.net

The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, CSVr

www.csvr.org.za

Liberia Association for Psychosocial Services, LAPS

www.lapsliberia.com

DIGNITY – Danish Institute Against Torture

www.dignityinstitute.org

ISBN Online: 978-87-93675-00-1

ORGANIZING COMMUNITIES:

REFLECTIONS ON ADDRESSING AUTHORITY-BASED VIOLENCE IN MONROVIA, MANILA AND JOHANNESBURG

A praxis paper on urban violence prepared in collaboration between Balay, CSVR, LAPS
and DIGNITY for the Global Alliance

By Anna Warburg, Kaloy Anasarias, Nomfundo Mogapi, Seidu Swaray and Steffen Jensen

Contents

Foreword	7
Executive summary and recommendations	8
Chapter 1: Introduction	12
Conceptual considerations on community organizing	12
Methodological considerations	13
Chapter 2: Activities and Theories of Change	15
Liberia	16
Activities and ToC	17
South Africa	20
Activities and ToC	22
Philippines	24
Activities and ToC	25
Activities and Theories of Change across Contexts	28
Chapter 3: Dilemmas and Challenges of Organizing and Mobilizing Communities	30
The Significance of Context	30
Positioning and Framing of Organizing and Mobilizing Strategies	32
What Constitutes a Community?	33
Translation and Vertical Organizational Linkages	34
Formality and Informality	35
Logistical and Practical Challenges	36
Community Projects and Personal Projects	37
Chapter 4: Conclusion and Recommendations	39
Summarizing findings	39
Recommendations – reflexive questions to ask	42
Bibliography	44
Appendix 1: Activities and Theories of Change	46

Foreword

Community organizing strategies have been heralded as an important part of addressing human rights violations by many scholars and activists. We absolutely agree with this point of departure. However, we also agree with critics that community organizing strategies have been under-documented in systematic ways and that evaluation of their success or failure often rests on anecdotal evidence. Furthermore, we also agree that context is everything in community work and that any attempt at modelling or blueprints is likely to fail. However, this should not prevent us from trying to learn from one another. This report addresses both the dearth in systematic analysis and formulates a string of reflexive recommendations to be used by ourselves and other organizations involved in community organizing.

The praxis paper is the product of the collaboration between four like-minded organizations: BALAY Rehabilitation Centre in the Philippines, The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation in South Africa (CSV), The Liberia Association of Psycho-social Services (LAPS) in Liberia and DIGNITY-Danish Institute Against Torture in Denmark. The collaboration has been formalized under the heading 'The Global Alliance Against Authority-based Violence', established in 2014. The basic premise of the Alliance is that around the world and across different contexts, groups of people are deemed 'victimizable' by the powers that be – either state or non-state – and hence made legitimate targets of order-maintaining – or authority-based – violence. The risk groups might include young, indigent and criminalized men in slum areas, suspects of terrorism and gangsterism, migrants and refugees, sexual minorities or alleged carriers of disease like Ebola. Their alleged transgressions might be based in a legal framework (like drug peddling) or in moral norms (like sexuality). However, all are likely victims of state or non-state violence. At the time of writing, the Philippine 'War on Drugs' provides a chilling example of the legitimacy of violence against such groups.

As a central element in the collaboration, we produce cross-cutting analyses about different issues relevant to the practice of the partners of the Global Alliance while employing different methodologies. All topics emerge from our common discussions on our different contexts, and include linking human rights, development and violence in the city; legal frameworks for policing poor urban neighborhoods; social work models; psychosocial models and partnership approaches.

Executive summary and recommendations

In this report, we explore community organizing strategies aimed at addressing what we call authority-based violence, that is, violence that is justified by local moral orders against those incarnating or embodying a threat to the survival of a local polity. The analysis is based on 67 data reports describing some of the activities and theories of change of three partners in the Global Alliance – Balay Rehabilitation Centre, the Center for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation and the Liberian Association for Psychosocial Services. The objectives of the analysis were twofold:

- 1) Systematically describe community organizing activities across three different contexts and
- 2) Understand what kind of dilemmas and challenges emerge when engaging in community organizing projects and efforts.

The analytical ambition of the report is not so much to understand the extent to which the activities were successful in relation to a strategic plan. Rather, we are interested in exploring, from the bottom up, how and to what extent such strategic planning is sometimes at the mercy of challenges that are integral to community organizing and what we can learn from this in relation to future community organizing work. It is our hope that other organizations engaging in community work may find some of our discussions valuable.

In terms of activities across contexts, we identified a wide array of organizing and mobilizing activities, involving a multiplicity of actors and stakeholders on many levels. Across all activities the most consistent characteristic for activities and theories of change is that they rest on a relational approach that aims to build networks, collaborations and social cohesion on all levels of community, whether it is among at-risk individuals, families and neighbors, organized groups, or external stakeholders. By facilitating intermediate linkages between these actors through organizing activities, social connections are facilitated and networks are extended in the communities.

This approach has been validated in our practices. While these successes are important to document and to recognize, it is equally important to reflect on the process beyond notions of success and failure. In looking through the data reports and the analyses, we identified seven challenges and dilemmas that seemed integral to organizing communities. The seven challenges are:

- The significance of context
- Positioning and framing organizing and mobilizing strategies
- The constitution of community
- Translation and vertical, organizational linkages
- Formality and informality
- Logistical and practical challenges, and
- Community projects and personal projects

These dilemmas and challenges have no easy one-fix solutions; they are often intrinsic to and constitutive of community organizing as such. They cannot be planned or defined away. They must be engaged with and reflected upon during all phases of project planning, implementation and evaluation. The recommendations which emerge out of this report are formulated as a set of questions that might guide such a reflexive process.



The significance of context:

- Is the project design (practical and financial) flexible enough to be able to deal with situations of rupture, maybe even innovatively?
- Does the project design and implementation accommodate less spectacular forms of crisis in the everyday lives of community organizers and beneficiaries?

Positioning and framing organizing and mobilizing strategies

- Does the project design factor in different points of view as well as different needs as they develop for different stakeholders?
- Do issues around survival and safety feature into the project implementation and design for partners and beneficiaries?

The constitution of community:

- What are the project assumptions about the constitution of the community? Who represents and who constitutes the community?
- Does the project implementation and design allow risk groups and victims of communal and state violence to participate meaningfully and on their own terms?

Translation and vertical, organizational linkages

- What are the different (professional) languages in play in a specific project and what are the possibilities of misunderstandings?
- What are the project mechanisms in place to allow translation between different levels of the intervention?

Formality and informality:

- What informal practices are necessary for the project to work, and how and to what extent are they funded?
- How does the project account for and document informal practices as a necessary part of the implementation?

Logistical and practical challenges:

- What is the relationship between the practical and logistical challenges, the resources at hand and the aims of the project?
- How and to what extent are logistical and practical issues documented as integral rather than as disruptive of implementation?

Community projects and personal projects:

- How does the project deal with personal projects of partners and beneficiaries?
- How can personal projects be merged with community projects as defined by project staff in order to strengthen both personal and the communal mobilization and organization?

Chapter 1: Introduction

How do we address violence perpetrated against groups that is legitimized as maintaining order and producing what local elites, including state authorities, consider moral communities? One answer, often heard in the human rights world, revolves around reforming institutions and training state authorities in legal frameworks such as the Convention Against Torture. While this approach is certainly important, we suggest that we need to complement the legal and institutional approach with one that focuses on community organizing and mobilization. Rather than addressing violence only through working with perpetrative institutions, we have tried to work with communities. This is surely no new approach as many projects have come before and influenced our thinking¹. However, many accounts of community organizing as a way to address violence have been rather anecdotal and less than convincing. In this report, we aim to explore community organization as a way to address authority-based violence. We ask how can communities organize and be mobilized to address violence across urban contexts and what dilemmas and challenges emerge in doing so?

In this question, there are a number of conceptual issues at stake: What constitutes a community and are communities comparable across contexts? What does it entail to organize and mobilize communities? What kind of violence are we discussing? While these questions are surely important – and we do address them all in due course (The Global Alliance 2017; Mogapi, Anasarias, Masuko, Swaray and Jensen, 2017) – it is not necessarily productive to answer them and define our concepts a priori. In this there is an important methodological ambition of developing conceptual tools for exploring mobilizing and organizing strategies through qualitative and cross-cultural comparison (Melhuus 2002). An important reason for this ambition is that many community-based projects have been ignored by policy makers in both rehabilitation and prevention because they did not conform to evidential standards often formulated around quantitative research frameworks. One part of the problem has been that community organizing projects have often not been designed to allow a rigorous implementation of quantitative indicators and measurements. Another reason has been a reluctance on the part of those implementing these projects to pay the methodological price in terms of, for instance, the difficulty of comparison across contexts. However, it seems as if there is a false dichotomy between quantitative and qualitative analyses (Pearce 2015). What is central is that we employ rigorous scientific standards to both qualitative and quantitative analyses and that we are aware of what we can say based on the material and data we have.

Conceptual considerations on community organizing

Community organizing is a field of practice that is fast-developing, and as such it has undergone numerous shifts and expansions over recent decades. It has been applied, adapted and utilized in a variety of contexts, and consequently there is much literature on the topic, rich in both frameworks and conceptual models relating community organizing to specific outputs. Due to the dynamic nature of the field, community organizing does not have an agreed-upon definition. In short, community organizing is an umbrella term for a field of practice in which local residents take collective action and work collaboratively towards social change and the development and transformation of their communities. The overall aim here is to meet the needs of the people, e.g. changes in policies, employment conditions, public safety, education,

1 For an elaboration of different approaches see Jessen, Rønsbo and Modvig, 2011; Bantjes, Langa and Jensen, 2012; Berliner et al, 2009; Sloth-Hansen et al, 2014.

and health (Christens & Speer 2015; Brady & O'Connor 2014; Rodgers et al. 2011). In this way, current trends in community organizing still reflect foundational thinking within the field, which emphasizes participatory deliberation, collective action and self-awareness about one's role in society as necessary components in social change and transformation processes (Alinsky 1971; Freire 1970).

In this aspect, the distinction between organizing and mobilizing is important to address as well as how they are used in this context. Due to the rich literature – and consequently wide-ranging terminology – it can be a challenge to distinguish between the terms as they are often used interchangeably, e.g. organizing, mobilizing, development, practice and intervention (Thomas et al. 2011: 338). However, one overarching argument seems to be that organizing is the foundation for social change to take place, because it brings people together in the first place. Organizing typically involves longer-term strategies meant to increase sustained community-based capacity, whereas mobilizing typically is shorter-term, or at least has a faster implementation process, often based on a momentum created by, for instance, events or new policies. At the same time, it is a product of many interrelated activities – both formal and informal. In this aspect, mobilizing aims for active community participation in initiatives that focus on specific steps to achieve social change. Thus, mobilizing occurs within organizing strategies in a process where both are equally important. As such, it raises the question of how to distinguish between activities that aim to organize and those that seek to mobilize.

While this distinction can be important, in this report, the aim is neither to discuss and elaborate on existing literature nor to be rigid about the definitions it suggests. Rather, we will approach community organizing from the bottom up and focus on people coming together, where common ground is established based on issues in the given community, e.g. violence, welfare, unemployment, health and livelihood. Seen in this light both organizing and mobilizing strategies are effective methods for achieving changes at all community levels as they both employ short-term initiatives and long-term advocacy efforts. The literature stresses the combination of long- and short-term interventions as especially beneficial for local residents seeking to meaningfully engage and participate in local decision-making processes that build on relations and networks to achieve local change (Christens & Speer 2011, 2015; Wallerstein 1993; Dale & Newman 2008).

Methodological considerations

To address the overarching ambition to explore community mobilizing and organizing strategies across contexts and develop a reliable, valid and useful system for cross-cultural comparison, we have designed this small research project as an inductive enquiry where our own practices constitute the empirical data. As part of the Global Alliance, each partner organization had defined areas of work and established more conceptual and theoretical ideas about how interventions would work; that is, we had identified theories of change for each of our activities. However, rather than simply presenting these theories of change supported with empirical illustrations, we decided to engage with our practices inductively, that is, from the ground up. Most analyses of intervention move in the opposite direction, i.e. they begin with the strategies that lead to activities. This usually leads to conclusions about efficacy along the lines of theory-driven evaluation indicating that the strategies were correct but badly implemented; correct and correctly implemented; wrong but well implemented; or wrong and badly implemented

(Dahler-Larsen, 2013). We agree with this approach and it does inform this project. However, by reversing the direction for a while, we can understand how a diverse set of practices and contextually based issues impact on the carrying out of a strategic vision without it being put down to faulty implementation. In this way, we attempt to assess the usefulness of the theories of change. Hence, rather than taking our point of departure in the strategies, we get to ask questions about their usefulness.

Over a period of 14 months (April 2016-June 2017), we collected data about activities using a template agreed to and developed by all partner organizations together. These reports in no way constituted the full number of activities or even a large section of them. A certain number of reports from each partner were agreed upon and we ended up with a total of 67 reports covering a variety of different activities. Hence, they are not quantitatively representative of the work carried out. Rather, they must be seen as a partial archive of activities that allow us to explore the nature – not prevalence – of activities. The reports were collected and compiled by on-the-ground staff members, processed by interns at DIGNITY and analyzed in a 'writing group' with members from the four organizations. The data collection group consists of Louie Crismo (Balay), Lebohang Malapela, Modiege Merafe, Tsamme Mfundisi and Gaudence Uwizeye (CSVR) and Shiaka Sannoh (LAPS). Michelle Caibio, Tatiana Jessen and Anna Bræmer Warburg (Dignity) worked on data management at different periods. Dominique Dix-Peek, Thapelo Mqehe (CSVR), Kaloy Anasarias (Balay) and Cartor Tamba (LAPS) oversaw the data collection in South Africa, Philippines and Liberia respectively. Steffen Jensen and Anna Warburg with Kaloy Anasarias, Nomfundo Mogapi and Seidu Swaray were the main drafters of the report. Hence, the project has involved a broad section of staff in the partner organizations.

The data entered consisted of activities around organizing as defined by the Global Alliance project as relevant for understanding organizing strategies and mobilization. The reports recorded target group, purpose of activity, reflections on the activity, what worked and what did not work. Based on the reports, we then induced the theories of change from the activities themselves. This process is more open, bottom-up and grounded than beginning with outlining the theories of change and the models and then moving on to the activities. In this way, we created a database of organizing activities. Through a grounded process, we identified seven themes that seem to influence organizing strategies beyond the theories of change across the three project countries. These comprise the significance of context; positioning and framing of organizing and mobilizing strategies; the constituents of community; translation and vertical organizational linkages; formality and informality; logistical and practical challenges; and community projects and personal projects. While these are clearly relevant for all three contexts, we also discuss in detail the extent to which we may compare the organizing strategies and their dilemmas and challenges. One important caveat we want to emphasize in relation to the data collection on community organizing activities is that, as touched on above, the reports on which the report is based represent far from all activities. Hence, the argument is not that all activities are covered, or even a representative sample. Rather, the data reports that we work with have allowed us to identify and think about some of the dilemmas and challenges of organizing communities.

We organize our argument in three main sections. In the first section, we discuss the activities and the theories of change that are implicit or explicit in them. In the second section, we explore the dilemmas and challenges of organizing through the seven identified themes. This discussion illustrates that while strategic considerations animate and inform activities via theories of change, other factors are equally important in understanding strategies for mobilization. In the final section, we summarize our analyses and present recommendations on organizing based on our analysis.

Chapter 2: Activities and Theories of Change

In this section, we explore and discuss the activities in our partial archive and the theories of change that can be induced from them². The activities for each organization in the Global Alliance vary in nature from being internally oriented (towards the organization) to externally oriented (towards the community) or any combination of the two along the spectrum. However, across all organizations the activities involve some of the same components and actors, e.g. awareness, advocacy, capacity building and internal training, psychosocial work, play activities, and relational activities. While these characteristics occur in all project communities and are relevant in understanding organizing and mobilization strategies, how the individual organization approaches each activity varies. Taking an empirical point of departure in the activities, we can induce a theory of change for each of them that contributes to the overarching theory of change in a way that addresses authority-based violence. Here, the overarching theory of change is that if we establish and organize at-risk groups and victims in the communities as agents of change through collaboration with local organizations and stakeholders, then we can, through well thought out and reflexive interventions, produce positive relations, networks and collaborations that will be able to contribute to the prevention of authority-based violence³.

In the rest of the chapter, we first present an overview of a selection of the most common activities and theories of change in each project country. The chapter ends with a comparison across contexts.

- 2 For an overview of a sample of activities and theories of change, see Appendix 1.
- 3 As we note elsewhere (Mogapi, Anasarias, Masuko, Swaray and Jensen 2017) in our analysis of psychosocial models for addressing authority-based violence, one cannot assume that social cohesion leads to less violence if that social cohesion is based on the exclusion of some, who will then bear the brunt of cohesion so to speak.





Liberia

LAPS is implementing a project in one of Monrovia's slums called Doe Community. The community has an estimated population of 49,000 inhabitants. It is situated near the Freeport of Monrovia in a swampy and seasonally flooded environment. Doe Community is divided into three neighborhoods: Cow Factory, Success, and Hope communities. The Cow Factory is a subdivision of the community that currently hosts the slaughterhouse of Monrovia, contributing to a characteristic smell of dead animals. The Success and Hope communities are named to communicate their aspirations for the future. For Doe Community as a whole, one consequence of the past civil war is that the influx of internally displaced people has meant that the area is overcrowded. As the numbers grew, people began constructing houses in increasingly wet areas, where the single rule for being given permission to stay was if you could dry out the land (with land fill) then you could stay. Thousands have done so, not least because of the relative proximity of the city. During the ebola outbreak, between 50 and 70 people were infected with the virus and about forty people did not make it.

When LAPS started its work in Doe Community it began with a baseline study that encompassed 120 interviews (65 women and 55 men). The data painted a picture of a "fractured community" with a high prevalence of interpersonal violence, youth violence and state violence. Interpersonal violence took the form of child abuse, maltreatment related to early pregnancy; denial/disowning of pregnancy, persistent non-support, domestic violence, and conflicts between neighbors and community members related to alcohol consumption, debts, resources, land, or humiliations. Youth violence took the form of gang violence, criminality, school violence and violence related to drug consumption. Perpetrators of state violence included teachers, police, health staff, prison staff, politicians and local leadership and authorities. During and after the ebola epidemic, collective violence targeted victims of the Ebola disease and was legitimized by authorities and residents. They maintain that ongoing research into Ebola in Liberia has not yet concluded on how long patients remain infectious after their survival. Hence, survivors are persistently targeted.

Furthermore, the data on the spatial and governance structure of the community revealed a slum community that is prone to flooding and lacking in basic social services such as safe drinking water, health centers and police presence. Finally, our analysis of the data suggested that the community was governed by three sets of leadership structures. These structures were reported to be unaccountable in terms of activities and did not create avenues and spaces where residents could freely express issues affecting them for possible redress by central government or other stakeholders.

Activities and ToC

The activities captured in the data reports on which this analysis rests comprise three main areas of community organizing. This does not include all LAPS activities in Doe Community. The three areas involve:

- Play and recreational activities,
- Reproductive health awareness campaigns, and
- Meetings among the Community Developing Facilitators (CDF), the Community Action Committee (CAC) and the Community General Network (CGN).

Play and recreational activities targeted mainly the local youth, both in and out of school, with aims like developing new relations and increasing trust among the participants, as well as building leadership ability. The play activities are facilitated based on the principle of non-discrimination and inclusion of both clients (at-risk groups) and non-clients within the project community. The play activities include songs, games and exercises aimed at enhancing physical fitness and personal hygiene; mental health, including concentration and focus; management of emotions and self-



expression; and social wellbeing, including maintenance of peace, unity and togetherness. The play activities are facilitated through open discussions, warm-ups, activity participation, cool-downs and closure discussions. After the activities, an 'RCA' (reflect, connect, apply) session is facilitated to encourage participants to reflect on the activity, connect it to past experiences and articulate what they learn from doing so, and imagine how they could apply these learnings in life afterwards. Based on this, the theory of change assumes that the play and recreational activities may promote the physical health and hygiene practices of at-risk groups as well as enhance their emotional wellbeing, or, in other words, function as trauma amelioration. The theory of change behind the activities consists of a three-step process: 1) Through the play and recreational activities the trauma symptoms of at-risk groups can be reduced and new and healthier social relations formed. 2) This should minimize psychological problems for the beneficiaries. 3) In turn, these two improvements will increase their functionality-mobility in the community through social connections that help build trust, develop leadership abilities, reduce stress, and create a sense of belonging.

Secondly, the data reports suggest that LAPS focuses on spreading and raising awareness on reproductive health issues, including preventive measures, among youth and adolescents. The reasoning behind this activity is the high rate of teenage pregnancies in the community. Adolescent girls are impregnated by men who later deny their involvement and the girls are then thrown out of the house by their parents, thus rendering them more at risk and vulnerable to other abuses. Here, the theory of change is that if we can raise awareness about the consequences of teenage pregnancy as well as about methods of prevention among teenage girls and their parents or caregivers, it will then increase their ability to protect themselves in relation to reproductive health and sexually transmitted diseases, as well as decrease the rate of teenage pregnancy.



Lastly, the data reports illustrate that there have been a series of consultative meetings among the CGN and the CAC. The CGN – consisting of LAPS field staff and local stakeholders such as chiefs, elders, community leaders and relatives of victims – has monthly meetings with the aim of addressing community issues. They have identified substance abuse, violence, flooding and teenage pregnancy as the main issues and planned further organizing activities on the basis of this, e.g. an awareness campaign on teenage pregnancy. The theory of change in this activity is that a discussion on these topics can help facilitate good relationships between prominent actors, expand knowledge on the correlation between violence and their particular constellation of issues, and generate ideas that will create further mobility in the community. Alongside this the CAC, consisting of volunteers from the community who are trained by LAPS field staff, functions as a community referral group that bridges the gap between at-risk groups, the LAPS and other stakeholders who can play an advocacy role. In this regard, branded T-shirts were distributed among the CAC members, as detailed in the data reports, to emphasize their role in the community and make them recognizable, which – it was hoped – would in turn build trust among the at-risk groups and abused and encourage them to report issues. In this way, while seemingly a small issue, the T-shirts built a collective identity among the CAC members that functioned as an external organizing strategy for at-risk groups and an internal strategy of identity building as well as a protection measure, since belonging to a group helps protect against authority-based violence.



South Africa

Since 2012, CSVR has been driving community-based interventions in four communities: Ekangala, Kagiso, Johannesburg Inner City, and Marikana. While the contexts and main foci differ for each community, the interventions share a similar model, aimed at the reduction of violence and its negative effects through the mobilization of community action groups.

Ekangala is situated on the western edge of Johannesburg in Gauteng. Its history is one of forced incorporation, vigilantism, violence, torture and trauma under apartheid. The residents of this community were first relocated by the apartheid government in 1985, from overcrowded townships on the East Rand (including Katlehong, Kwa-Thema and Thokoza) of Johannesburg to the peri-urban township of Ekangala near Bronkhorstspuit. During this period, the residents of Ekangala were forced to incorporate into Kwa-Ndebele (the homeland of the South Ndebele people) until Bantustan demarcations were repealed after the democratic transition. Currently, Ekangala is part of Tshwane Metro municipality. The population size is estimated to be at about 50,000. Historically, the main economic activity in this municipality was coal mining. However, this has tapered off over the past decade and the current main source of employment, agro-processing firms in Ekandustria industrial park, has done little to alleviate the increase in already high levels of unemployment, poverty, crime and violence. A total of 844 incidents of both violent and non-violent crime were reported in Ekangala in 2014/15. During this period (from April 1 to March 31), there were 11 homicides, and 13 cases of attempted murder were reported. There were 32 reports of sexual crimes. By far the most frequently reported crime in the area, however, was the non-violent crime of house burglaries (247). This was followed by drug-related problems (222).



Marikana is a mining community located in the north-west province of South Africa. The CSVR's involvement in Marikana began in the wake of the killing of 34 people in the area in 2012 during a mining strike – an incident that became known as the Marikana Massacre. CSVR entered the community shortly after the massacre with the aim of assisting members of the community in dealing with the effects of the ensuing collective trauma. The existing tension in the community was exacerbated by rivalry between two mining unions, as well as revenge killings that were taking place at that time. The lack of existing organizations in the area presented a further challenge for CSVR, and field workers had to devise new ways of gaining entry into the community. This hurdle was overcome by mobilizing church leaders and members of the Marikana Support Group (Sikhala Sonke) – a grassroots women's organization advocating for the rights of women whose husbands were killed in the massacre. A community action group was formed after a training workshop, attended by 42 people, which focused on the history of violence in South Africa, or more specifically on unresolved historical trauma and its link to a culture of violence, including the violence in Marikana. The group was later named the Tshepo-Themba Emotional Support Group – a name chosen specifically to reflect the hope members of the group wanted to foster across ethnic and cultural divisions in the community.

The Inner City Johannesburg is characterized by high prevalence of torture and ill-treatment of foreign nationals by law enforcement officials in the Johannesburg Inner City area, as well as a general lack of knowledge among foreign nationals about the organizations that could offer them assistance when they become victims of such treatment. The action group Voice of the Voiceless (VOV) was formed to raise awareness about this problem, and to advocate for the needs and rights of foreign nationals in the inner city. VOV members were recruited from a

group of interviewees in a 2012 study, as well as from organizations working with migrants and foreign nationals in the area. The group decided on their name during an initial workshop, which was aimed at introducing the project to the community. The name, Voice of the Voiceless, indicates their main objectives – to advocate for the needs and rights of foreign nationals in the Inner City, as well as to encourage other vulnerable groups to be their own spokespeople and advocate for their own needs and rights. The group wanted to focus specifically on raising awareness of torture and CIDT among vulnerable groups such as asylum seekers, refugees and hawkers.

The Kagiso Anti-Torture Community Project (KACP) was launched in Kagiso following a research project with young men about their experiences of torture and CIDT at the hands of the police. CSVr used the street corner approach to gain access to the young men in the area. Following this project, a feedback meeting was held with the participants to provide them with a summary of the key findings, which included the high prevalence of torture in the community. It was decided that a community action group would be formed to raise awareness about torture in Kagiso, as well as about the legal, medical and psychosocial services available to victims of torture.

Activities and ToC

The main activities that have been captured in the data collection reports comprise three overarching areas of work. Again, this does not capture the full extent of CSVr's work in and around Johannesburg. The three areas of work involve:

- Training and capacity building of community psychosocial supporters,
- Awareness on the issue of violence and torture through community dialogues and commemoration events, and
- Dialogues with external stakeholders.

Firstly, the training and workshops of the Community Psychosocial Supporters (CPSs), the CSVr field staff and the Community Action Groups (CAG) have been undertaken with the aim of strengthening the ability of the participants to work with community members through increasing their self-awareness and confidence, working with their personal challenges, and holding discussions on conflict management and on future initiatives for improvement. On the basis of these activities, the theory of change is that training and workshops for CPSs increases their capacity and ability to work directly with beneficiaries in the communities, manage difficult situations and deal with trauma through common reflection and discussions, which in turn aligns knowledge and expectations of work in the field. Furthermore, it facilitates social cohesion internally as it fosters a sense of agency when it comes to taking action, which reflects positively on the professionalism of the staff from an outsider's perspective. In other words, internal organizing is a prerequisite for organizing and mobilizing communities. As one example, a workshop between CPSs and community stakeholders was organized to assess the impact of the program and the knowledge production, which both addressed the development of the CPSs and established networks with the community, e.g. with activists or ward councillors. The workshop also functioned as a knowledge exchange between involved actors.



Secondly, CSVr has been working directly with beneficiaries and victims of torture in the community through dialogues on violence and torture, and by spreading awareness about options for psychosocial support and treatment. The dialogues have had different goals: some have aimed at improving active participation, social cohesion and ownership of common problems; another set of dialogues has aimed at awareness raising, often with a more substantial CSVr input. Based on a participatory and relational method of intervention, the theory of change rests on the premise of collective engagement and exchange of experience between the participants, which allows a sense of individual empowerment, creates 'active citizens' and functions as a collective strategy of network and relation building. Furthermore, activities such as these can create a linkage between different levels in the community, i.e. organizations and community members. In this way, CSVr creates awareness on the issue of violence and torture and on where beneficiaries may find community resources such as counseling and psychosocial support. Thus such activities can help prevent violence and organize communities. At the same time they help CSVr and the CPSs to gather knowledge about the needs of the victims of violence and torture. This creates a mutually beneficial relationship, aiming to address the violence and its effects in an organic and sustainable way for both the target group and the facilitators.

Finally, the data reports suggest that CSVr has engaged in activities with external stakeholders (civil society and government) to discuss the challenges surrounding violence and torture, as well as raise awareness on the topic. Through dialogues with actors both inside and outside the communities, CSVr establishes linkages on different working levels through which the issue of violence and torture can be channeled and addressed, e.g. local governance. Additionally, it functions as community outreach in terms of education and information on said topics. The important aspect of this organizing strategy is to facilitate the potential of connecting key players, i.e. political leaders, non-governmental organizations and community leaders, in networks, where they have the collaborative power to instigate change in the communities.

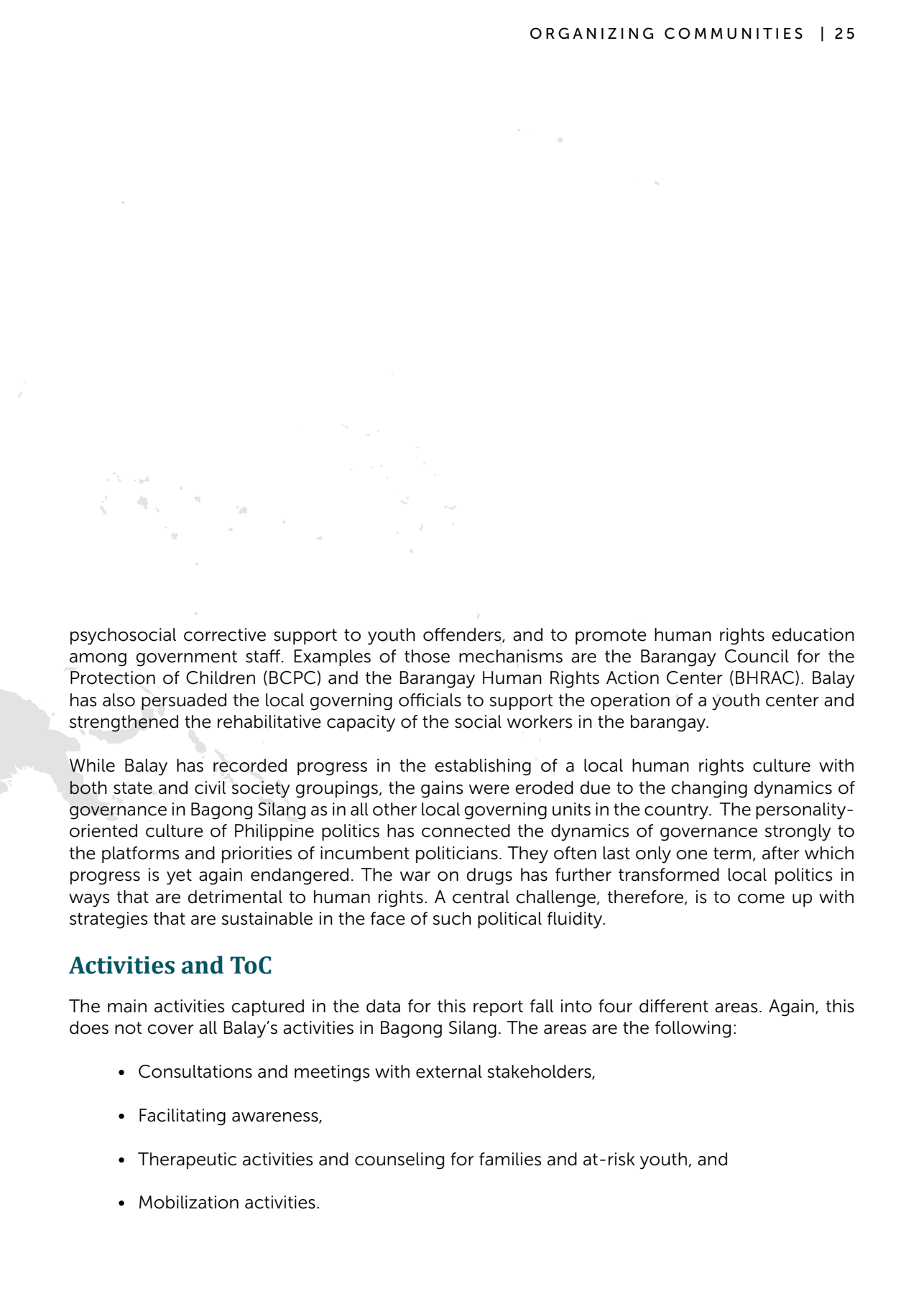


Philippines

Bagong Silang (BSK) is a relocation area for slum dwellers who were displaced from their homes in the late 1980s in different parts of Metro Manila as part of the government's effort to clear land to boost the economic development of the metropolis. Bagong Silang has earned a reputation for being a violent and dangerous place with high crime rates. The use of excessive and inappropriate force by the police in efforts to contain criminality is common. Even before the 'war on drugs' by President Duterte, killings were frequent. The victims are suspected to be involved either in gang-related conflict or in cases of criminal entanglement with the police that could be linked to drug trade. The perpetrators are for the most part unknown, but residents widely suspect that the police are either directly involved in the killings or have ideas on who is behind them but hardly lift a finger to solve them. This kind of perception brings about a general feeling that the police are allowing violence and a climate of fear in order to assert their power over a society in which the rule of law is deemed more fiction than fact. With Duterte's war on drugs, the killings significantly increased and fear has become more pronounced.

Balay's work in Bagong Silang is part of a bigger torture prevention and rehabilitation program under the Psychosocial Program for Survivors of Torture and Organized Violence. In earlier years, Balay initiated a community-based approach to reduce or prevent the risk of violent encounters between young people and authorities in Bagong Silang. The interventions were aimed at increasing protective factors for the young people, on the one hand, and transforming the perceptions, attitudes and behaviors of authorities towards the youth on the other. The program entails the provision of alternative activities to the youth that would dissuade them from getting into conflict with the law.

Balay initiated conversations with local peacekeepers and police officers during seminars that sought to change their view on children and youth from being a menace to the public order into victims of trans-generational poverty and violence. Balay has also influenced the local governance authorities to set up mechanisms for the protection of children, to provide



psychosocial corrective support to youth offenders, and to promote human rights education among government staff. Examples of those mechanisms are the Barangay Council for the Protection of Children (BCPC) and the Barangay Human Rights Action Center (BHRAC). Balay has also persuaded the local governing officials to support the operation of a youth center and strengthened the rehabilitative capacity of the social workers in the barangay.

While Balay has recorded progress in the establishing of a local human rights culture with both state and civil society groupings, the gains were eroded due to the changing dynamics of governance in Bagong Silang as in all other local governing units in the country. The personality-oriented culture of Philippine politics has connected the dynamics of governance strongly to the platforms and priorities of incumbent politicians. They often last only one term, after which progress is yet again endangered. The war on drugs has further transformed local politics in ways that are detrimental to human rights. A central challenge, therefore, is to come up with strategies that are sustainable in the face of such political fluidity.

Activities and ToC

The main activities captured in the data for this report fall into four different areas. Again, this does not cover all Balay's activities in Bagong Silang. The areas are the following:

- Consultations and meetings with external stakeholders,
- Facilitating awareness,
- Therapeutic activities and counseling for families and at-risk youth, and
- Mobilization activities.

First, Balay has an extensive network of collaborations with organizations, civil society groups and partnerships with government departments. Therefore, a main component of activities consists of consultations and meetings with a multiplicity of external stakeholders with whom matters such as advocacy and the prevention of violence are discussed. This includes the Caloocan Civil Society Coalition (CCSC), the Barangay Council for the Protection of Children (BCPC), and the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD). For instance, one of the multi-stakeholder conversations concerned a bill that proposed lowering the minimum age of criminal responsibility (MACR) from 15 to 9 years old with the aim of building up a constituency that would support a lobby campaign against the bill. More specifically, this initiative was to take place without confronting the government, but rather through promoting solidarity and support for the advocacy agenda. Therefore, the theory of change behind this organizing strategy is that if consensus building, reflexive processes and dialogue are facilitated and undertaken in a



participatory manner, then it is possible to design a common plan of action that promotes the protection and safety of children on a long-term basis. This activity is based on involvement from a wide range of stakeholders who make their own stand on the issue instead of it being imposed on them by external organizations. As such, the importance of political alliance building and engagement in this activity cannot be understated.

Second, Balay works directly in the community with at-risk groups to raise awareness. For instance, in conversations with graduated students from the ALS School, Balay staff members employ a consultative-reflexive strategy in order to engage the youth in discussions and gather first-hand knowledge about their achievements. Additionally, it provides the opportunity to bring forth the youths' opinion on the ongoing 'war on drugs' through a therapeutic conversation strategy built upon what Balay calls a non-hierarchical and participatory method. The theory of change in this activity suggests that engaging the youth in conversation, and making them the center of knowledge, enhances their sense of empowerment and motivates them to participate in community activities, i.e. to become 'active citizens' or agents of change, and creates a sense of collective identity through shared experiences with other at-risk youth. This also contributes to developing leadership skills among at-risk youth. Additionally, by engaging directly with the at-risk groups in the community, a better understanding of the current 'climate of violence' from an outside perspective is enabled. Balay also works with parental skills and relations between parents and their children, which enables meaningful and productive relationships that help both families and the community. This accentuates the value of starting from below and not necessarily via institutional reform. For instance, Balay has conducted home visitations with parents of at-risk youth, and through casual conversation it provided a basis for a needs assessment with the purpose of identifying perceived problems, and consequently solutions, in the household and in the community. In this way, participatory planning offers a sense of ownership and a greater level of commitment from the parents, where they are being recognized as leaders in an organizing effort within the community. This potentially fosters a collective sense of action and their bond as an association.

Third, according to the data collected Balay provides therapeutic activities and other welfare support services to youth partners and their families. Therapeutic activities include psycho-education sessions and individual and group counseling sessions. Welfare support includes direct assistance or referrals to other service providers to assist partners in their pursuit of education and employment and during times of difficult situations like death in the family, hospitalization or medication. Youth partners can receive these services as part of the general intervention for their healing and development but some youth partners, those considered to be partners in need of special attention, receive these services as part of case management work. Partners in need of special attention are those who usually have difficulty coping or have developed negative coping strategies with their experience of violence. While these interventions are services in nature, their value in organizing work can't be exaggerated. For instance, six of the fourteen members of the core group of leaders of the Balay Youth Learners are currently receiving financial assistance from Balay for their college and vocational courses. These partners are able to function as members of the core group because they feel that they are important and that they and their families were freed of the worries of where to get money for their school expenses. The theory of change behind this is that, if community partners are provided with or helped to access services, they will likely be more active and participative in their activities. Regarding the therapeutic activities, including those covered by the case management work, the change theory suggests that if the psychosocial needs of these victims of violence are properly assessed and an appropriate intervention plan is designed and implemented, then the youth partners will likely develop positive coping strategies and be able to deal with the problems properly, and therefore

increase their functioning capacities. Once youth partners have improved their functioning, organizing them would become easier. The survey on violence among ALS learners reveals that 37 of the 40 interviewed - or 92 % - had experienced violence. Of the 40, 29 participated in focus group discussions (FGDs) to further assess their needs. The FGDs were followed by human rights seminars and Pagdadala (coping) workshops through the ALS. The young people who participated in these activities were the ones who were more expressive and more active in their activities. Many were leaders of the Balay Youth Learners.

Lastly, mobilization activities have featured prominently in the data reports, especially concerning participation in public action and engagement with policy makers showing opposition to the 'war on drugs'. One example is mobilization of community partners and civil society, in the form of the CCSC, to show opposition to reinstatement of the death penalty and lowering the age of criminal responsibility, emphasizing the need for engagement by momentum. This activity had the intention of instilling a particular idea about active citizenship: that presence in political action can shape public opinion and, possibly, public policy. Here, Balay's role is one of facilitation in which community partners directly engage government agencies in seeking redress and in lobbying for better policies.

Activities and Theories of Change across Contexts

When looking at the data gathered, what is then generalizable across contexts and in what ways do the activities relate to one another? Across all project countries, there is a wide array of organizing and mobilizing activities in play, involving a multiplicity of actors and stakeholders on all levels. Across all project countries, the theories of change are dominated by participatory engagement creating empowerment and agency among community members and at-risk groups in order to enhance collective action and develop 'active citizens'; by helping build trust and create linkages between different actors and stakeholders to develop social mobility through a collective identity and a sense of community among at-risk groups; and by building staff capacity to better address community issues as well as to attempt to influence local power structures and policies. Looking at these approaches, the services provided by all partner organizations in the Global Alliance are not only a





recognition of human rights and human suffering; they are equally about the possibility to empower local actors through credible outreach – what we might term strategic service delivery.

The most consistent characteristic across contexts for all activities and theories of change is arguably that they rest on a relational approach that aims to build networks, collaborations or social cohesion on all levels of community, whether it is among at-risk individuals, families and neighbors, organized groups or external stakeholders. By facilitating intermediate linkages between these actors through organizing activities, social connections can be built and networks expanded in the communities, e.g. the CAC's function as a referral network for at-risk youth in Liberia.

This approach links up to a strong trend in recent community organizing work. Increasing social capital through participatory methods is hypothesized to strengthen the community through improved social relations, create a sense of collective identity, and build trust and common norms. As such, structural and cognitive social capital building activities are employed, which in turn rest on organizing and softer values (Hansen-Nord et al. 2016). This approach also functions as an order-making mechanism or a social safety net as a stable social environment minimizes risks such as loitering for youth. In this way, social capital is a necessary component and a catalyst for sustainable community development as it both enhances social cohesion in the community and increases access to resources outside the community through external stakeholders with infusions of economic and human capital (Dale & Newman 2008). As such, the importance of organizing and mobilizing strategies with a focus on relational approaches, combined with an understanding of socio-economic factors that are both influenced by and predictors of violence, cannot be overstated in the attempt to create and facilitate community development (Ligon et al. 2017). This also constitutes more organic ways of staying safe and secure. The overarching theory of change rests on the premise that positive relations, networks and collaborations will work to prevent authority-based violence against at-risk groups. Or, as we suggest elsewhere (GA, 2017), what protects risk groups or puts them at added risk is often a question of the quality and nature of their social relations with family, neighbors and public officials. This also suggests that community organizing must be built on what is already there – protective or otherwise – and only attempt to implement outside support structures if they work with what is already in place.

Chapter 3: Dilemmas and Challenges of Organizing and Mobilizing Communities

In Chapter 2, we discussed which activities were implemented towards organizing and mobilizing communities and what theories of change we could induce from them. In this chapter, the main themes that seem to influence the various strategies of organizing and mobilizing communities across the three project countries are explored. Employing an inductive approach and inspired by grounded theory, we have identified a set of themes from the organizing activities presented above. The dilemmas and challenges of these themes are just as important in the understanding of strategies for mobilization and organizing of communities as the strategic considerations that inform activities via theories of change, as they emphasize a bottom-up approach. Hence, they cannot be reduced to bad implementation; rather, important lessons can be learnt from them that are generalizable across contexts. In this way, we reverse the order of regular evaluations so that we are now less interested in understanding whether an activity failed or succeeded and more interested in what can be learnt from the activities beyond their relevance to strategy. As it will become clear, these dilemmas are often exactly what undermine or challenge strategic thinking. We have identified seven different dilemmas. They are:

- The significance of context
- Positioning and framing organizing and mobilizing strategies
- The constitution of community
- Translation and vertical, organizational linkages
- Formality and informality
- Logistical and practical challenges, and
- Community projects and personal projects

The Significance of Context

A context informs an intervention, and an intervention can transform its milieu and itself emerge again transformed. Therefore, one of the major themes, and challenges, of organizing is the shifting context, which consequently means different activities as there is more than just a single causal factor for violence. In our data, the activities carried out by Balay are crucially informed by President Duterte's 'war on drugs'. As such, the different contexts in which we work are in many ways constituted by crisis and emergency – or the recent presence of one, as the original reason for the intervention. Marikana in South Africa, where the intervention happened after a police massacre on strikers, is a good example of this. Hence, in that period where the emergency is most acutely felt, many activities will be directed at addressing that crisis. In this way, the context affects our way of thinking and working both practically and strategically, e.g. in our understanding of whom the risk groups are and how to approach them. On the one hand reacting on these crises might be said to compromise strategy. However on the other hand, not to react on crises in people's lives is often tantamount, on the ground, to betrayal. Furthermore, as we shall see, crises are also burgeoning with new possibilities as they constitute ruptures in how things are done 'normally around here'. This suggests a need to be vigilant about transformations and shifts.

In the period under review, it is quite clear that the work carried out by Balay in the Philippines is very much informed by the context and a community in a state of emergency. President Duterte's 'war on drugs', in which suspected drug addicts and pushers are targeted, has created a climate of fear and impunity. The war has claimed thousands of lives nationwide and several hundred in Bagong Silang (see Human Rights Watch 2017). Violence, extrajudicial killings (EJKs), and corrupt practices by ordering institutions are deciding factors that guide the focus of activities in an organizing context, and thus the theories of change when aiming to prevent authority-based violence. This is evident in the kind of activities Balay chooses to employ, which has shifted since the initiation of this project. In the beginning, the activities were characterized by organizing strategies that focused on key issues such as child protection and human rights, raising awareness about this, and building viable relations and linkages between stakeholders to establish common knowledge on advocacy matters, as well as assessments of existing and future organizing strategies.

These activities focused on the prevention of violence, but were not directly related to a crisis. Since the 'war on drugs' was initiated, the focus of the activities has shifted so that the activities are directly aimed at the 'war on drugs' and taking affirmative action in the community. Here, the activities are informed by the context with the aim of gathering information about the 'war on drugs' and its implications, raising awareness about rights, and organizing lobbying campaigns against government initiatives such as the reinstatement of the death penalty and lowering the age of criminal responsibility. What has especially been prioritized is widening the scope of human rights education as well as understanding the impact of EJKs in the community in order to solicit suggestions on how to proceed with future organizing activities both in the community and with outside stakeholders. This has aligned the direction of the response between stakeholders and community members. In this way, the activities are represented on all levels of the community, from state to street level, and consist of both long-term organizing strategies and short-term mobilizing strategies, e.g. committee organization, networking and alliance building with outside stakeholders, and human rights awareness work alongside the consultative-reflexive strategy with at-risk groups. However, all activities relate to one another to create the change that both the at-risk groups and the stakeholders intend to achieve. As such, there is a shift in practices and theories of change due to the 'war on drugs', which informs current organizing and mobilizing strategies.

The context in Liberia is the aftermath of civil war and a broken and poor society. The population has suffered massive dispossession and displacement. There is an entire generation of young men whose only trade was violence (Utas, 2005). They are young ex-combatants, or motorcycle boys, and are also targets of collective violence. These young men, along with large segments of the population, had moved to Monrovia as one place of safety and possibility. This was the context of our intervention. However, in the wake of the Ebola crisis, new risk groups were those seen to bring disease and death. As some community members suggested, Ebola was worse than the war because no one could be trusted. Hence, the epidemic was a direct assault on intimate social relations and trust – something that was already in short demand. Ebola continues to be stigmatized and people associated with it are perceived as risky; those who have had family members die from the virus are excluded and threatened in their communities. Here too, the theory of change changes according to the shifting context of at-risk groups. An example of

how LAPS is tackling this problem is through play and recreational activities, where they facilitate both awareness on the post-Ebola stage and new ways of relating among the youth, with the aim of fostering acceptance and inclusion of all people regardless of age, ethnic group and gender.

In South Africa, CSVr works in four different communities and across a range of different contexts: violent service delivery protests, xenophobic attacks on foreigners, sexual and gender-based violence, interpersonal violence, state violence and youth violence to mention a few. For instance, when xenophobic attacks broke out in 2008, a new focus in the theories of change occurred as human rights organizations worked to promote the rights of refugees and migrants, strengthen legal mechanisms of protection and train state institutions in handling refugees. However, this was without reflecting on the development agendas in South Africa animated by a sense that marginalization has continued into the post-apartheid era, although sometimes in new forms. The focus on xenophobic attacks is most prominent in the Inner City, whereas in Kagiso the focus is on ex-combatants and in Marikana it is the massacre. The focus in Ekangala is state violence, sexual and gender-based violence, and youth violence. These sites were included, often after a crisis of sorts, and they have informed and animated how CSVr works.

In conclusion, contexts shift – sometimes radically so – during a project because of one crisis or another. In project planning, this is often dealt with through outlining killer assumptions (external factors that are beyond the control of the intervention yet crucial to its success). However as was the case with ebola or the war on drugs, these crises cannot really be predicted. Often crisis is chronic rather than a one-off event. Finally, crises are often periods of intense transformation and innovation. Hence, while they cannot be planned, community-led projects must be able to work with and in them.

Positioning and Framing of Organizing and Mobilizing Strategies

In addition to how activities transform and shift depending on the context, another important aspect is the positioning and framing of these activities. In other words, it is not only context that informs and animates what activities need to be undertaken; in addition, how to approach stakeholders and what serves as entry points to target groups must be considered strategically. In most cases, and certainly in cases of conflict and crisis, an organizing activity depends on who the target group is; community members and at-risk groups, NGOs and civil society, or state actors. Here one must pose the question: what actors are we working with and what serves as an entry point?

In the Philippines, the work of human rights organizations is very much influenced by a context that requires extra consideration, as NGOs are working against both the extra-judicial killings and the stigma that has come to be attached to their work. In many circles, human rights workers are perceived as protectors of ‘criminals’. This taints reception of their messages and places them in a biased and untrustworthy light. This stigmatization problematizes awareness and education not only about human rights, but also about addiction as a health issue and not as a crime that legitimizes killings. Due to the tense climate under the Duterte administration, human rights organizations must be careful in their approach to their work against human rights violations. In this context, strategic consideration about the framing and positioning of services are key in approaching and gaining access to at-risk groups.

One way of approaching and gaining access to target groups in this context has been through informal neighborhood dialogue, and by partnering with stakeholders who function as intermediaries for at-risk groups. By using indirect channels, Balay was able to move around the community more freely and connect with more people who had a similar human rights promotion agenda. This approach to engagement of stakeholders allows Balay to navigate in spaces otherwise problematic both politically and socially, and thus to advance development objectives. In other words, an organizing strategy of transformative engagement was employed.

In the case of the Philippines, the framing and positioning of services is crucial as a deciding factor in gaining access to certain stakeholders. In all three partner countries, this sometimes entails working with individual healing processes (parallel to a community focus) and with service delivery in the form of food and (legal or monetary) assistance. This is taken as a matter of course, and forms part of what can be called strategic service delivery. However, often this form of assistance must revolve around the question of safety due to the high public support for the violent 'war on drugs' where, for example, too much information may cause potential risks. There is far less trust in outside actors working in the community, which demands thorough consideration when trying to establish contact. Here organizing strategies not only evolve from creating social change, but must also encompass the security and survival of those participating. Issues of safety and survival have to be high on the agenda in Liberia as well, where there is a tendency for armed robbers to present themselves as security officers representing the state. This has created a dilemma of recognition of authorities and has become an issue of security. As a response to this LAPS provided branded T-shirts to the CAC that work both as a way of identifying them as a group and as a protection mechanism.

In this way, strategic considerations about the framing and positioning of activities are crucial components in community organizing strategies as they work not only as entry points for community work and service delivery, but also as protection mechanisms in states of insecurity.

What Constitutes a Community?

The concept of community is inherently difficult to define. We may distinguish between community as an identity category and a spatial one. A community can be a neighborhood, but it can also be a group, for instance the gay community. Furthermore, conceptually we may understand community as a governmental category in the sense that an entire range of governing or intervening practices are premised on the existence of the community: community policing, community development, community psychology and of course our own project on community-led approaches to addressing authority-based violence. Finally, invoking community is a powerful political discourse when one wants to claim legitimacy as the true representative of it (Jensen, 2004). When looking through the activities captured in the data reports, they speak to all these dimensions. All projects are located in space – poor, urban and peri-urban communities with high levels of violence. However, no projects accept the idea of harmonious communities of 'us on this side' but rather look at the inherent conflicts that persist within communities. As an intervention, we work with specific notions of community and engage with people who, in different ways, claim to represent the community or the people. As a way around these dilemmas, we have identified target groups and risk groups to understand how they relate to each other.

Generally, we distinguish between five different target groups: victims of violence, risk groups of violence, families of victims or risk groups, the communities in which they live and institutions wielding authority, whether state or non-state, in the given context. These five groups populate in different ways the field in which authority-based violence is a central problem. In the Global Alliance, there is a focus on relationships between victims and at-risk groups on the one hand and their surrounding families, communities and authorities on the other (Mogapi, Anasarias, Masuko, Swaray and Jensen, 2017).

Victims and at-risk groups comprise those groups that in different ways are perceived to be threats to a locally endorsed moral community. They are determined by the specific context; however, in all the above-mentioned contexts, young people, especially men, are generally understood as both a risk and at-risk; i.e. their own practices often invite retribution and disciplinary action. Here, families, communities and authorities are characterized by being both potential perpetrators of violence and important support structures in preventing violence, e.g. families may endorse violence for disciplinary reasons while authorities find their legitimacy in the threat posed by at-risk groups. In this way, intervention must include working with both perceptions of society and the practices of young people (Mogapi, Anasarias, Masuko, Swaray and Jensen, 2017).

Taking an empirical point of departure in the activities allows specific target groups to emerge. For instance in Liberia, there are three main target groups in play: the Community General Network, consisting of chiefs and other people in authority; the Community Action Committee, consisting of volunteers from the community; and at-risk youth in the community. In line with a community-led approach, LAPS explores what these groups deem important. Besides the at-risk youth who are engaged through recreational and play activities, the Community General Network sees teenage pregnancy as the most important issue whereas the Community Action Committee has a focus on identity and security issues in the T-shirt activity. What this suggests is a diverse understanding of the community and its problems. Simplistically, we can say that the older people are preoccupied with young – especially female – sexuality, whereas the young are preoccupied with identity and safety issues. Part of the dilemma of community intervention is then to navigate between the two almost opposite understandings.

In the case of CSVR, much effort is put into internally strengthening the community organizers from the different areas. This speaks to a slightly different issue – where does the community begin and the intervention end? The organizers and the action groups might understand themselves as part of the intervention and no longer as part of the community. This is also evident in the calls for increasing payment. Hence, there is a dilemma on how we work with community expectations. A valid question to pose, then, is how do organizing strategies contribute to the ‘organizing’ of the target group? Answering this question goes a long way to distinguishing between efforts that organize activities and target groups on the one hand, and activities that contribute to community-led organizing on the other hand.

Translation and Vertical Organizational Linkages

In data reports on the activities, we can identify at least two levels of working in the community: one works directly with at-risk groups, whereas the other targets NGOs and other referral networks; that is, reaches at-risk groups through intermediate linkages. This points to important vertical organizational linkages that call for translation between the different layers (Merry, 2006). Based on this, the aim of the activities is to organize and intervene with at-risk groups in

such a way that they change their relations with the family, community and state, and in this way become agents of change. In other words, the at-risk groups are moving out from the bottom level in the community, away from the sphere of concern and into the sphere of influence where they are involved in the process of organizing and intervening in their own communities. When all the relationships in a community are considered, the intervention should produce both political and social sustainability. There are different layers of target groups that need to be taken into consideration: the at-risk groups on one side and the families, communities and authorities on the other. Intervention should focus on all the actors within the field, be they victims, at-risk groups, families, communities or authorities. Hence, there is a need to establish clear criteria of inclusion and exclusion, considerations of how beneficiaries are reached and the extent to which this happens. This is comparable across all three project countries.

In Liberia, these vertical linkages are evident in the relationship between LAPS and the Community Development Facilitators (CDFs) overseeing the process, as well as in the communication between the Community General Network (CGN), the Community Action Committee (CAC) and the final beneficiaries of at-risk groups in the Sam Doe community. In South Africa, CSVR has a community intervention team that supervises the work of the Community Action Group (CAG), which then works in the different communities. In the Philippines, Balay works with the Caloocan Civil Society Coalition (CCSC), the Barangay Council for the Protection of Children (BCPC), and the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) as intermediate actors in reaching at-risk groups, as well as the ALS school and the Balay Youth Learners, which both work directly with at-risk groups in Bagong Silang.

In sum, across all contexts and at-risk groups, the objectives are sought by, on the one hand, working directly with at-risk groups as the final beneficiaries and focusing on a relational organizing strategy, and on the other hand by collaborating with intermediate networks that are working toward facilitating changes in the context or milieu of at-risk groups and their communities. However, these avenues of conversation and action are inherently complicated because the same issues are not always understood in the same way. This suggests that much care needs to be exerted in the translation within vertical networks and linkages.

Formality and Informality

Organizing assumes many different forms and takes place on various levels in the community, in both obvious and less obvious ways. Due to the intangibility of the organizing concept, confusion is a constant possibility as to what organizing in fact entails in terms of process and strategy (Thomas et al. 2011). On the one hand, organizing can be viewed in terms of specific 'events' in the community; that is, as convening a gathering aimed at raising awareness or creating dialogue. Such activities tend to be more formal. On the other hand, organizing is also much broader and includes all matters relevant to the staging of the formal activity including the willingness of the staff, the communication internally, reflections on collaborations and casual conversation. These are all more informal activities that enable formal activities. Although formal and informal activities are not given the same amount of attention in evaluations, they are equally important in the organizing process. When having both aspects in mind, a fuller picture emerges of the organizing process, along with several implicit organizing strategies. This is an important point to make as organizing is not a stand-alone 'event', but includes a series of informal activities leading up to the actual activity, e.g. casual conversation among community members, coffee breaks with partners, visiting education facilities or attending a funeral, all of which help shape a relevant and context-appropriate approach to the more 'formal' organizing activity.

A 'Violence Mapping' activity carried out by Balay and described in the data reports is a case in point. The aim of mapping EJKs in Bagong Silang was to understand the impact of the killings, as well as feed into a discussion on future organizational work responding to this new context. To gather knowledge on the killings, a discreet consultation strategy was set in place with actors who could provide information on the topic, where patterns of killings emerged. Concurrently, Balay conducted activities of varying degrees of formality that were animated by the information as it emerged from the 'violence mapping'. The more informal of these often helped consolidate new organizing strategies. This is an example of how an activity can stand alone and motivate a group of stakeholders, but at the same time be part of a number of activities that are initiated to achieve a change-seeking objective. In this way, a cluster of informal, often invisible, and formal activities are connected to realize the objective.

As such, organizing and mobilizing strategies are inherently also informal, consisting of unstructured conversations and many small connected interventions resting on informal social relations impossible for outsiders to perceive (Ligon et al. 2017) since they take place behind the scenes. It is a phenomenon that does not fit into the category of 'formal' events, yet it is still an integral and vital part of the process. Clearly, this poses a constant dilemma in both programming and evaluation, because such informal activities are both invisible and necessary.

Logistical and Practical Challenges

What distinguishes a successful activity from a less successful activity? Throughout the data collection period, and constantly emerging in our data reports, one of the main challenges of community organizing, across the board in all three project countries, has been the host of logistical and practical requirements that have to be overcome when conducting activities. These range from heavy rain flooding community facilities, communication problems between actors, limited resources, and finding transport for participants to the venue, to less tangible things like a sense of insecurity in participation and, most of all, tardiness and low levels of participation in activities. Although these challenges are of different character, they are basic prerequisites for organizing activities: without participants, no community-led intervention and no sustainable community development. As such, naturally there is a big focus on the logistical and practical challenges surrounding organizing, even to the extent that it sometimes overshadows the actual content of an activity. This is evident in our data, where these challenges time and again are emphasized by the field staff conducting the activities. In Liberia, LAPS is working in an area that is prone to flooding, which both prevents people travelling and floods venues. In the rainy season, not only is Liberia one of the wettest countries in West Africa, but the intervention site is located in a reclaimed swamp. These circumstances make organizing incredibly difficult as they are both urgent and time-consuming. In South Africa, CSVr has its own troubles with attendance: use of facilities external to the community means long journeys – time and cash that already hard-pressed community members can ill afford.

Failure is often ascribed to poor implementation or faulty theories of change. However, a general lack of participation may also indicate that mobilizing strategies are not as efficient as they could be – or that activities are not prioritized in communities or even necessary. In other words, the practical and logistical challenges could simply mean that organizing work is difficult and time-consuming; however, we must remain vigilant to the need for constant scrutiny and adjusting not only of the practical framework but the conceptual framework on which the activities rest as well. In this regard, a particularly important issue relates to ambitious project objectives which may be ill-matched with how cumbersome implementation is on the ground.

Community Projects and Personal Projects

Due to the structure of the project, working in the communities is influenced by existing projects in all three project countries. But in what way does this influence community organizing? Often community work is assumed to be carried out for the benefit of the community in unselfish ways. However, this is not always the case. Besides the obvious purpose of the project to prevent authority-based violence, there are other economic incentives to participate in the partnership around organizing. Stakeholders participate in externally initiated projects, or agree to be part of organizing activities, if they are aligned with their interest or tend to satisfy some of their needs in already existing projects. Here it is necessary to be creative in terms of how organizing can support local and individual projects, and maybe the solution is not to hire more people, but to integrate areas of interest with local resources. One example is the ALS School in the Philippines which teaches at-risk youth, or Balay Youth Learners, in the Alternative Learning System program. This provides students with an alternative and more practical education, thereby equipping them to enroll in college or vocational training. Furthermore, the ALS school facilitates awareness on human rights and mobilizes parents in the ALS Parents Association to discuss pressing community matters. The success of the project stems in no small measure from the fact that it marries externally driven agendas of violence prevention with the aspirations of community members, not least of these the parents.

However, for the organizations to continue with their individual projects, they must also invest in the wider collective, because participation in those projects is essential to keep funding other project work perhaps more geared towards working with the community rather than in the community. The point is, the motivation and priority of the partnership project can be questioned based on the economic incentive behind participation. There is a risk of dissociation from the collective project and a power struggle about who is representing the community. Furthermore, some actors in the communities could be involved in the work for economic and personal reasons as well as politically representing the indigent of the communities, where they expect to be paid for their services or hope that their efforts in the work will generate a livelihood (Jensen 2004). This has become evident on a local level in the work that CSVR has done, where somehow the concept of 'volunteering' several times may have tacitly acquired an expectation of payment for those seeking to participate, i.e. poverty-stricken community members. This raises uncomfortable questions about the power dynamics, roles and underlying issues of community work. Here, there is a need to re-distinguish, and to reassert the distinction, between community projects and personal projects.

These are just some of the ways that financial aspects and existing community projects can influence community organizing and the way it is constructed. In extension of this, the dilemma of sustainable intervention is ever present. As with many development projects, organizing requires resources. This leaves questions about what happens after the project period. On a more structural level, this dilemma takes its point of departure in unequal allocation of resources and injustices that are structurally rooted. In this aspect, we must ask what the best methods to facilitate change are and how this can be continually sustained after the project period. Here, an indicator of success is the ability of the local community partners to take over and develop an organizational vehicle that moves forward using local resources in a way that can support future activities. The role of external actors is to help establish and facilitate activities that support organizing and mobilizing strategies, which could for instance be the building of networks and relations among community members, hence making organizing a sustainable method in violence prevention, where the foundation must rest on local resources.

As an example of this we have LAPS' play and recreational activities. The purpose of these activities is to enhance social connections between LAPS beneficiaries. These activities gather at-risk groups and help them develop trust among one another, build leadership skills, and reduce stress. Through facilitating these activities, LAPS helps the at-risk groups develop their network in a way which benefits the local community after the project period. It is a form of capital building that is a sustainable way of organizing a community (Dale & Newman 2008), and in this process, the facilitation of intermediate relations is key. At times, this change can derive simply from a new presence that is able to work as a catalyst in facilitating relations among community members. Therefore, a focus must be to facilitate intermediate relations that will last until after the project period. This will contribute to community-led organizing and create a sustainable intervention over a longer period by developing collective action and civic engagement that integrates existing community and personal matters. This is a difficult balancing act. Implementing agencies tend to see participation as less sustainable when it is based more on economic and personal incentives than on ideological convictions. While this is not entirely untrue, personal projects and intents are also powerful forms of fuel in community organizing. Hence, rather than trying to avoid personal projects it seems a more appropriate strategy to try to harness personal projects to drive community organizing. The question 'what's in it for me?' does not have to be a dangerous one.

Chapter 4: Conclusion and Recommendations

In this report, we have explored community organizing strategies aimed at addressing what we call authority-based violence, that is, violence that is justified by local moral orders against those incarnating or embodying a threat to the survival of a local polity. We base our analysis on 67 data reports describing the activities and theories of change of three partners in the Global Alliance – Balay Rehabilitation Centre, the Center for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation and the Liberian Association for Psychosocial Services (see Appendix 1). The objectives of the analysis were twofold. We wanted to 1) systematically describe community organizing activities across three different contexts and 2) understand what kind of dilemmas and challenges emerge when engaging in community organizing projects and efforts. The analytical ambition of the report was not so much to understand the extent to which the activities were successful in relation to a strategic plan. Rather, we were interested in exploring, from the bottom up, how and to what extent such strategic planning is sometimes at the mercy of challenges that are integral to community organizing and what we can learn from this in relation to future community organizing work.

The data for the analysis came in the form of template-driven documentation of activities. The data reports did not cover all activities undertaken by the three organizations. This was on purpose as the data volume would have been difficult to manage and analyze. Instead, we created a partial archive of activities that allows for careful consideration of the dilemmas and challenges. While we have surely not captured all dilemmas, we have been able to identify and discuss several important issues. The report is a co-production between all concerned parties. We have in some ways used our own interventions and practices as the empirical foundation for the analysis. Hence, the findings have already been discussed within the different partner organizations and have generated important reflections. It is our hope that other organizations engaging in community work may find some of our discussions valuable.

Summarizing findings

In terms of activities across contexts, we identified a wide array of organizing and mobilizing activities, involving a multiplicity of actors and stakeholders on many levels. However, across all activities participatory engagement dominates. This aims at creating a sense of empowerment and agency among community members and at-risk groups, which in turn is meant to enhance collective action and develop 'active citizens'. To state it differently, the idea is that building linkages of trust between different actors and stakeholders – including staff – may develop social mobility through a collective identity, or sense of community, among at-risk groups, which in turn may develop the capacity to influence local power structures on community issues and policies. Looking at these approaches, the services provided by all partner organizations in the Global Alliance are not only a recognition of human rights and human suffering; they are just as much about the possibility of empowering local actors through credible outreach – what we might term strategic service delivery. The most consistent characteristic across contexts for all activities and theories of change, arguably, is that they rest on a relational approach that aims to build networks, collaborations and social cohesion on all levels of community, whether it is among at-risk individuals, families and neighbors, organized groups, or external stakeholders. By facilitating intermediate linkages between these actors through organizing activities, social connections are facilitated and networks are extended in the communities.

During the implementation period (from 2015 but often reaching further back in time), the three partner organizations have seen some successes and faced many challenges in their community organizing efforts. While these successes are important to document and to recognize, it is equally important to reflect on the process beyond notions of success and failure. In looking through the data reports and the analyses, we identified seven challenges and dilemmas that seemed integral to organizing communities. They are neither easily addressed nor easily avoided, as the data reports so abundantly illustrate. The seven challenges are:

- The significance of context
- Positioning and framing organizing and mobilizing strategies
- The constitution of community
- Translation and vertical, organizational linkages
- Formality and informality
- Logistical and practical challenges, and
- Community projects and personal projects

Significance of context: Even the best prepared plans and strategies may be toppled by sudden developments in context. Ebola, the war on drugs and the Marikana police massacre are examples of such ruptures in Liberia, the Philippines and South Africa. Because community organizing approaches privilege local perspectives it is difficult to ignore such crises or ruptures: this is what the people we work with will be preoccupied with. The ruptures described here are often massive. However, crisis defines the lives of the people we work with beyond the spectacular. Hence, crises and ruptures must not be consigned to killer assumptions. Rather, our experiences suggest that crisis and rupture are intrinsic to context. Furthermore, crisis and rupture are often associated with destructive forces, but they can also be seen as moments of innovation. This was the case in Marikana, where CSVR began working after the massacre, and with the war on drugs when Balay became central in developing new, local forms of organizing.

Positioning and framing of organizing and mobilizing strategies: Strategic consideration about the framing and positioning of activities is a crucial component in community organizing strategies as they work not only as entry points for community work and service delivery, but also as protection mechanisms in states of insecurity. Hence, strategies of intervention must pay attention to how the interventions are seen from the point of view of the different stakeholders. The same intervention may hold very different meanings to different people as the case with the T-shirts in Monrovia illustrates – for some it was about identity while for others it became a crucial question of security and even the ability to ‘read’ public authority from fake authorities. This suggests that we must constantly consider how interventions are interpreted and understood by different, local stakeholders who are sometimes in conflict with each other.

What constitutes a community? Depending on whom we ask, the community is defined as a space, an identity, an object of intervention, or a group to be represented by community workers. In our work, we have defined community intervention in relation to local forms of authority-based violence; that is, we begin our work from the identification of risk groups and victims. This suggests that the community is inherently conflictual since it comprises both

perpetrators and victims and these categories are not stable. A mother can be a victim of, for instance, extortionate practices or disciplining in one case and the perpetrator of violence on her misbehaving children in another. We find similar challenges in defining clear boundaries between inside and outside the community as evidenced for instance by the strategy to identify and form community action groups. While group members are clearly meant to be of the community, they will often begin to feel and act as part of the intervention. The important conclusion from our study is that these challenges and dilemmas are intrinsic to community work and we cannot define them away.

Translation and vertical, organizational linkages: Across all contexts the attempt is to reach at-risk groups and facilitate their empowerment, and there are two identified ways of doing this: first by working directly with at-risk groups as the final beneficiaries in a way that focuses on a relational organizing strategy; and second by collaborating with intermediate networks whose aim is to facilitate overall change in the contexts of at-risk groups and their communities. However, these avenues of conversation and action are inherently complicated because the same issues are not understood in similar ways. This suggests that much care needs to be exerted in the translation within vertical networks and linkages to allow victims and risk groups to engage with and eventually lead interventions.

Formality and informality: When we plan and monitor community interventions, there is a tendency to privilege formal events and activities; they are easier to count and to document. However, our data illustrates abundantly that organizing and mobilizing strategies are also inherently informal, manifesting in seemingly unstructured conversations and many small, often invisibly connected interventions, which in turn rest on informal social relations difficult for outsiders to perceive. While they do not fit the category of ‘formal’ events, these activities are integral to and a vital part of the process. This poses constant dilemmas in programming and evaluation because the informal activities are both invisible and necessary.

Practical and logistic issues: Focusing on the practical and logistical challenges allows us to see that organizing work is incredibly difficult and time-consuming. Our data reports are full of delays, cancellations, lack of communication and misunderstandings. Sometimes the practical and logistic issues take precedence over the objectives of the intervention, not least for those charged with frontline implementation. These issues are not incidental to implementation; rather, they are intrinsic to all community work. It follows, then, that it is not only the conceptual framework that needs continually adjusting and revising; the practical framework on which the activities rest needs the same kind of scrutiny. In particular, it is important that the logistics of implementation on the ground are at the front of organizers’ minds when planning so that ambitious project objectives stay within achievable limits.

Community projects and personal projects: Community projects rely on the voluntary work of different actors and stakeholders within the community. It is sometimes assumed that volunteer project planners engage in community organizing for no other reason than that they care for their community; that is, they engage in projects purely for altruistic reasons. However, in any given project context, people might volunteer for a number of different reasons. While ideological underpinnings are important, the prerequisite of survival weighs heavy on poor people’s sense of duty. In this, we do not doubt the depth of people’s commitment. Rather we suggest that they have legitimate concerns about survival. Our point is that this does not disqualify them and that any community organizing principle must consider the personal projects of the people we organize. In many ways, our data suggests that the best results come when project planning is able to merge personal and community projects.

Recommendations – reflexive questions to ask

In this report, we have identified a number of important dilemmas and challenges of engaging in community organizing. These dilemmas and challenges have no easy one-fix solutions; they are often intrinsic to and constitutive of community organizing as such. They cannot be planned or defined away. They must be engaged with and reflected upon during all phases of project planning, implementation and evaluation. The recommendations which emerge out of this report are formulated as a set of questions that might guide such a reflexive process.

The significance of context:

- Is the project design (practical and financial) flexible enough to be able to deal with situations of rupture, maybe even innovatively?
- Does the project design and implementation accommodate less spectacular forms of crisis in the everyday lives of community organizers and beneficiaries?

Positioning and framing organizing and mobilizing strategies

- Does the project design factor in different points of view as well as different needs as they develop for different stakeholders?
- Do issues around survival and safety feature into the project implementation and design for partners and beneficiaries?

The constitution of community:

- What are the project assumptions about the constitution of the community? Who represents and who constitutes the community?
- Does the project implementation and design allow risk groups and victims of communal and state violence to participate meaningfully and on their own terms?

Translation and vertical, organizational linkages

- What are the different (professional) languages in play in a specific project and what are the possibilities of misunderstandings?
- What are the project mechanisms in place to allow translation between different levels of the intervention?

Formality and informality:

- What informal practices are necessary for the project to work, and how and to what extent are they funded?
- How does the project account for and document informal practices as a necessary part of the implementation?

Logistical and practical challenges:

- What is the relationship between the practical and logistical challenges, the resources at hand and the aims of the project?
- How and to what extent are logistical and practical issues documented as integral rather than as disruptive of implementation?

Community projects and personal projects:

- How does the project deal with personal projects of partners and beneficiaries?
- How can personal projects be merged with community projects as defined by project staff in order to strengthen both personal and the communal mobilization and organization?

Bibliography

Alinsky, Saul D. 1971. *Rules for Radicals – A Practical Primer for Realistic Radicals*. New York: Random House.

Bantjes, Megan, Malose Langa & Steffen Jensen. 2012. "Finding Our Way: Developing a Community Work Model for Addressing Torture." *DIGNITY Publication Series on Torture and Organised Violence*, No. 1. CSVr – Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation & DIGNITY – Danish Institute Against Torture.

Berliner, Peter, George Radics, Nadia Pulmano, Finn Kjaerulf & Ernesto Anasarias. 2009. "Community Narratives of Social Trauma: A Case study of a Sitio in Mindanao." In *Psyke og Logos*, 30(1).

Brady, Shane R. & Mary Katherine O'Connor. 2014. "Understanding How Community Organizing Leads to Social Change: The Beginning Development of Formal Practice Theory." In *Journal of Community Practice*, 22: 210-228.

Choudhury, Zahid, Steffen Jensen and Toby Kelly. Forthcoming. "Counting Torture: Towards the Translation of Robust, Useful and Inclusive Human Rights Indicators." In *Nordic Journal of Human Rights*.

Christens, Brian D. & Paul W. Speer. 2015. "Community Organizing: Practice, Research, and Policy Implications." In *Social Issues and Policy Review*, 9(1): 193-222.

Christens, Brian D. & Paul W. Speer. 2011. "Contextual Influences on Participation in Community Organizing: A Multilevel Longitudinal Study." In *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 47(3): 253-263.

Dahler-Larsen, Peter. 2013. *Evaluering af projekter – og andre ting, som ikke er ting*. Syd-dansk Universitetsforlag.

Dale, Ann & Lenore Newman. 2008. "Social Capital: A Necessary and Sufficient Condition for Sustainable Community Development?" In *Community Development Journal*, 45(1): 5-21.

Freire, Paulo. 1970. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Herder and Herder.

The Global Alliance. 2017. "Social Justice for All – Linking Human Rights, Development and Violence in the City: Contributing to Safer Cities." *Position Paper on Urban Violence by the Global Alliance: CSVr – The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, Balay Rehabilitation Center, LAPS – Liberian Association of Psychosocial Services & DIGNITY – Danish Institute Against Torture*.

Hansen-Nord, Nete Sloth, Finn Kjaerulf, Juan Almendarez, Victor Morales Rodas & Julio Castro. 2016. "Reducing Violence in Poor Urban Areas of Honduras by Building Community Resilience Through Community-Based Interventions." In *International Journal of Public Health*, 61(8): 935-94.

Hansen-Nord, Nete Sloth, Mette Skar, Finn Kjaerulf & Juan Almendarez. 2014. "Social Capital and Violence in Poor Urban Areas in Honduras." *In Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 19(6): 643-648.

Human Rights Watch. 2017. "License to Kill: Philippine Police Killings in Duterte's 'War on Drugs'." United States of America: Human Rights Watch.

Jensen, Steffen. 2004. "Claiming Community: Local Politics on the Cape Flats, South Africa." *In Critique of Anthropology*, 24(2): 179-207.

Ligon, Carmel, Imelda Dura, Anna-Sofia Olesen Yurtaslan, Johanne Gregersen, Anna Bræmer Warburg, Maya Mynster Christensen & Steffen Jensen. 2017. *Social Work Models in Addressing State and Authority-Based Violence in Denmark and the Philippines*. DIGNITY Publication Series on Torture and Organized Violence no. 14.

Melhuus, Marit. 2002. "Issues of Relevance: Anthropology and the Challenges of Cross-Cultural Comparison." In A. Gingrich & R. Fox (eds.) *Anthropology, By Comparison*, pp. 70-92, London and New York: Routledge.

Merry, S. E. 2006. "Transnational Human Rights and Local Activism: Mapping the Middle." *American Anthropologist*, 108: 38-51. doi:10.1525/aa.2006.108.1.38.

Mogapi, Nomfundo, Kaloy Anasarias, Themba Masuko, Seidu Swaray and Steffen Jensen. 2017. "Addressing Authority-Based Violence in Urban Neighborhoods: Psychosocial Models for Prevention and Wellbeing." *Praxis Paper 15 on Urban Violence by the Global Alliance: CSVN – The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, Balay Rehabilitation Center, LAPS – Liberian Association of Psychosocial Services & DIGNITY – Danish Institute Against Torture*.

Pearce, Lisa D. 2015. "Thinking Outside the Q Boxes: Further Motivating a Mixed Research Perspective." In Hesse-Biber, Sharlene & R. Burke Johnson (Eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Multimethod and Mixed Methods Research Inquiry* (pp. 42-56). New York: Oxford University Press.

Rodgers, John, Kavitha Mediratta, Seema Shah, Joseph Kahne & Veronica Terriquez. 2012. "Building Power, Learning Democracy: Youth Organizing as a Site of Civic Development." *In Review of Research in Education*, 36(1): 43-66.

Rønsbo, Henrik, Tatiana Jessen & Jens Modvig. 2011. "An Exploratory Literature Review on Community Interventions in Four Latin American Countries." RCT Practice Paper.

Thomas, M. Lori, Mary Katherine O'Connor & F. Ellen Netting. 2011. "A Framework for Teaching Community Practice." *In Journal of Social Work Education*, 47(2): 337-355.

Utas, Mats. 2005. "Victimcy, Girlfriending, Soldiering: Tactic Agency in a Young Woman's Social Navigation of the Liberian War Zone." *In Anthropological Quarterly*, 78(2): 403-430.

Wallerstein, Nina. 1993. "Empowerment and Health: The Theory and Practice of Community Change." *In Community Development Journal*, 28(3): 218-227.

Appendix 1: Activities and Theories of Change

LAPS

Activity	Theory of Change
1. CAC Meeting	If we organize the caregivers, peers and other family members of at-risk groups into a committee, train them and collaborate with them in the provision of services to at-risk groups, then at-risk groups will sustainably be guided towards activities that will minimize the state of their vulnerability and promote their self-development.
2. CAC Meeting	If an internal strengthening of the CAC took place as well as a distribution of T-shirts among the members, then it would both create a referral pathway as well as build collective identity, solidarity and motivation as a group in which they are recognizable in the community. Furthermore, it would be a protective measure as belonging to something helps protect against authority-based violence.
3. Reproductive Health Awareness	If we can raise awareness among at-risk groups about reproductive health issues and related implications on their lives, then at-risk groups will make informed reproductive health decisions that will mitigate further risks to their lives.
4. CGN Meeting	If we create and facilitate a regular monthly meeting space within the project community and ensure that all categories of community members are represented in these meetings – discussing general issues pertaining to the wellbeing and development of the community – then at-risk groups will have access to other basic social services and community resources that are beyond the scope of this project.
5. CGN Meeting	If there is more knowledge on identifying problems in the community, such as substance abuse, teenage pregnancy, etc. and how they correspond with violence, then it will increase capacity and generate ideas to resolve those problems, e.g. more psychosocial support in order to mitigate psychological pain.

Activity	Theory of Change
6. CGN Meeting	If the CGN members can identify and discuss pressing problems affecting the community, e.g. teenage pregnancy, then it is possible to create awareness and preventative strategies for this, e.g. organize sex education with the involvement of both the community and sub-committees of the CGN.
7. Play Activity	If we regularly engage at-risk groups along with other community members into structured play activities then the physical health and hygiene practices of at-risk groups, as well as their emotional wellbeing and peaceful co-existence with others, will be improved.

CSV

Activity	Theory of Change
1. Baseline Study on Torture Victims	If interviews are captured in the database, then it will help to give an understanding of torture victims and mobilize them.
2. Africa Day Celebration	If there is a celebration of African unity by community members and civil societies, then it will help bring awareness about the challenges Africa is facing as a continent and it will reinforce social cohesion and identity, and thereby function as a preventative strategy against xenophobic violence.
3. World Torture Day (Johannesburg)	If a commemoration of torture victims is held, then it will raise awareness about the effects of torture as well as the importance of healing and rehabilitation. By educating communities it is easier to support and understand torture victims and the healing will improve.

Activity	Theory of Change
4. World Torture Day (Marikana)	If a commemoration of torture victims is held, then it will raise awareness about the effects of torture as well as the importance of healing and rehabilitation. If dialogue is used as an organizing strategy, where community members can participate freely and ask questions, then it helps understanding the concept of torture.
5. Ekangala Gender-Based Violence Dialogue	If findings are shared with the community, then it will promote and sustain ongoing community engagement. This will also work as a collective strategy towards gender-based violence prevention as well as a strengthening of alliances and networks across institutional levels, which in turn will help raise awareness and consolidate measures in addressing negative consequences of gender-based violence. If community members engage in the dialogue then they will gain a sense of control and thereby empowerment.
6. Gendered Nature of Torture Community Outreach	If community outreach takes place, then it will create awareness on torture and gender-based violence including information about community resources such as psychosocial support.
7. Commemoration of 16th August 2012 Marikana Massacre	If support is provided for victims of violence such as psychosocial support, then it will raise awareness on the links between different forms of violence and the consequences hereof, which is done through speeches, dialogue and knowledge products. It will also help establish linkages between different levels of actors both inside and outside the community. If we facilitate collective dialogues then they will create links between different actors in the community and may create new 'active citizens'.
8. Psychosocial Wellness for Inner City, Marikana and Kagiso 1	If community psychosocial supporters (CPS) receive internal training, then it will improve their ability to manage difficult situations in the communities and deal with trauma, e.g. identify practical strategies for self-care in order to be emotionally ready to work with victims in the communities. If this training is done in a participatory way, it will enhance learning.
9. Psychosocial Wellness for Inner City, Marikana and Kagiso 2	See activity 8

Activity	Theory of Change
10. A Learning and Reflection of all Four Communities (Cross Pollination)	If a workshop for action groups and CPSs from all four communities is provided, then it will facilitate reflection and discussions on future improvements of community-based work, which in turn will foster a sense of agency to take action for change. This is if the workshop facilitates discussion on the challenges faced and solutions shared across all communities, and if organizing strategies are contextualized to each community; in other words if dialogue is used as an organizing strategy to align expectations between CSV and AG/CPS.
11. Conflict Analysis Workshop	If conflict management training of CPSs is facilitated, then it will help group members understand and deal with conflict better. If internal training as a strategy works to build the capacity of staff, then CPSs will be better able to organize and mobilize the communities in which they work. It will also function as a way of establishing common knowledge about conflict and how to manage conflict.
12. Tolerance through Diversity	If there is awareness and dialogue with community members to inform them about the psychosocial services of CSV and CPS on offer, then it will create linkages between different levels of organizing, i.e. organizations and communities, where the understanding and trust between different levels in the community will be improved through awareness and communication.

Balay

Activity	Theory of Change
1. Candidates' Forum	If a forum is held to raise awareness on child protection and the age of criminal liability, then it will create linkages and engagement between politicians, NGOs and community members, which in turn will promote advocacy for at-risk groups.
2. Unit Assessment Meeting	If an assessment promotes a participatory way of generating insights from practice – in other words if learning takes place from taking stock of what went well/ less well and why – then future organizing strategies will improve.

Activity	Theory of Change
3. Reflection and Assessment Session with Field Instruction	If a conversation between Balay staff and students who did fieldwork in a project site about organizing takes place, then it will raise questions that are not otherwise asked. It may also affirm some of the activities and ways of working of the project team, and even add some best practice knowledge for building helping relationships with stakeholders.
4. Joint Meeting of the Caloocan Civil Society Coalition and the Caloocan Children's Coalition	If there is an internal meeting between the CCSC and the CCC, then it will assess the candidates' forum and discuss standpoints from different stakeholders in order to establish as common knowledge certain advocacy matters.
5. Meeting of the Barangay Council for the Protection of Children	If a meeting is had with the Barangay Council for the Protection of Children, then it will provide insight into issues of child protection, how to organize community-based activities and how to provide funds to reduce vulnerabilities to violence of young people.
6. Focus Group Discussion with Victims of Police Violence	If a FGD with victims of police violence is held, then it will generate views from stakeholders about their encounters with authorities as well as empower the victims of violence by respecting their thoughts and feelings and facilitating their critical-thinking process to appreciate ideas on human rights based on their lived experience. Their realizations and insights may also provide the project team with inputs on how to shape strategies for organizing victims (who may also be perpetrators), and on how to frame a mediated conversation with authorities to promote safety and protection in the community with minimal violence.
7. Caloocan Civil Society Coalition Planning Meeting	If a unification of coalition members as intermediary agents takes place, then it will 'amplify the voices from the ground' and use their legitimacy and status to influence policy decisions and widen the reach of 'organizing' activities within their respective spheres of influence.
8. FGD with Enforcers	If there is an interdepartmental collaboration with state institutions on the implementation of new ordinances in the war on drugs, e.g. age of criminal liability, then it can gather feedback and comments, which in turn will help generate recommendations to strengthen local policies and come up with proposals to improve implementation of ordinances. If we employ a strategy of multi-stakeholder participation using a conversational approach, this will enhance affirmative action in the community; for example spreading public knowledge about new policies may help prevent abuses and keep the community safer.

Activity	Theory of Change
9. Regular Meetings of the Caloocan Civil Society Coalition	If the CCSC meets regularly to discuss the proposed new minimal age of criminal responsibility and gather updates on CCSC's plan, then it will engage and inform stakeholders and build a political alliance to support a lobby campaign against the proposed policy. It will also strengthen the CCSC internally and create the space for making further advocacy plans.
10. Meeting with the Alliance Committee for Children and Youth Development (ACCYD)	If there is a meeting between ACCYD members and Balay, all stakeholders will be updated on the violence survey and an upcoming human rights orientation seminar for ACCYD members. This, in turn will inform both these activities and future collaborations.
11. Conversation with ALS Learners	If a consultative-reflexive strategy – which encompasses person-to-person engagement, therapeutic conversation and non-hierarchical and participatory methods – is used to elicit reflections from graduates of the ALS school about the climate of violence created by the war on drugs, then it will engage the young people in a reflexive-analytical discussion which, in turn, will enhance their sense of empowerment. Further, this could motivate them to participate in actions that could influence other learners and build a sense of collective identity through shared experiences and engagement with other at-risk youth.
12. Building Support for the CCSC Advocacy to Address Violence to Youth and Children through a Multi-Stakeholder Conversation	If a multi-stakeholder conversation is held on preventing youth criminality and violence, then it can identify risks and responses to reduce those risks as well as determine plans to promote public safety, i.e. the focus will shift to their vulnerability instead of seeing them as drivers of criminality. If the participants in such a conversation contribute and engage, this will help to build a constituency that could lobby for support with similar activities such as consensus building, reflexive processes and multi-stakeholder dialogues that try to establish a common understanding and a position influenced by a human rights perspective.
13. Holding Consultative-Reflexive Meetings with ALS Parents	If there is a meeting with the ALS Parents Association on the war on drugs, then it will generate recommendations on raising awareness on human rights among other parents in the community. If consultative-reflexive, story-telling and dialogue strategies are used to discuss pressing issues like extrajudicial killings, then linkages across groups of stakeholders will be created that give a deeper understanding of individual experiences and this may, in turn, increase self-confidence for participants while at the same time clarifying the perspective of the at-risk groups on the climate of violence for the facilitators. A collective critical reflection may lead to new 'active citizens' as well as create a sense of control and thereby empowerment.

The Global Alliance is a strategic alliance established in 2014 between likeminded civil society organisations working towards building a global alliance of communities against torture and urban violence. We conduct country-based, as well as collaborative intervention and knowledge generating projects across partners, focusing on countering authority-based violence in poor urban neighbourhoods.

The Global Alliance consists of four partner organizations from four different countries:



CSVr - The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, South Africa;
www.csvr.org.za



Balay Rehabilitation Center, the Philippines;
www.balayph.net



LAPS – Liberia Association of Psychosocial Services, Liberia;
www.lapsliberia.com



DIGNITY – Danish Institute Against Torture, Denmark;
www.dignityinstitute.org